one, were Southern States, and there was no ogui librium. But the Constitution was made not only by Southern and Northern States, but for States naither one nor the other, but Western States.—Their coming in was foreseen and provided for.

It needs little argument to show that the idea of a joint stock association or a coparinorship as applicable even by its analogies to the United States is erroneeds, with all the consequences functionly deduced from it. The United States are a political State are recognized secrety, whose end is Govern-

"Wa the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, estable, in order to form a more perfect Union, estable, include states and establish the Constitution."

Objects sublime and benevolent! They exclude the very lides of conquests to be either divided among States or even enjoyed by them for the purpose of securing, not the bleasings of liberty, but the evils of Slavery.

There is a novelty in the principle of this Comprosite, which condemns it. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Constitution, Virginia ceded her domain, which then extended to the Massispip, and was even deained to extend to the Pacific. Congress accepted it and unanimously devoted the domain to freedom, in the language from which the Ordinance now so severely can demned, was borrowed. Five States have already been organized on this domain, from all of which in pursuance of that Ordinance. Slavery is excluded. How did it happen that this theory of the equality of the States, of the classification of States, of the equilibrium of the States, of the title of the States to common enjoyment of the domain, or to an equitable and just partition between them was never promulgated, nor even dreamed of by the Slave States, who unanimously consented to this Ordinance?

There is another aspect of the principle of compromise which deserves consideration. It assumes that Slavery, if not the only institution, is, in a Slave State, at least the reliang institution, is, in a Slave State, at least the reliang institution, is, in a Slave State, at least the reliang institution there.—

But Slavery is only one of many institutions Fraedom is equally an institution there.-Slavery is only a temporary, accidental, partial, in congruous one. Freedom, on the contrary, is perpetual, oranic, universal one, in harmony with the Constitution of the United States. The slaves holder himself stands under the protection of the latter, in common with all the free citizens of the State.

ate. But the principle of this Compromise gives com-But the principle of this Compromise gives coin-plete secondency in the Slave States, and in the Constitution of the United States, to the subordi-nate, accidental and inconcruous institution over its antagonist. To reduce this claim for Slavery to an absurdity, it is only necessary to add that there are only two States in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which the slaveholders are not a very

disproportionate minority.

But there is yet another aspect in which this principle must be examined. It regards the domain only as a possession to be enjoyed either in common or by partition by the citizens of the old States. It is true indeed that the national domain is ours; true that it was acquired by the prowess and wealth of the whole country, but we hold, nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We hold, nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We had no arbitrary authority over anything, whether acquired lawfully or by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship. The Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defease, to welfare and liberty. But there is a higher taw than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part—no inconsiderable part—of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the Univers. We are his stewards, and must so dis obarze our trust as to secure in the highest attain

Univere. We are his stewards, and must so disoharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness. How momentous
that trust is, we may learn from the institutions of
the founder of modern philosophy.

"No man can, by care taking," as the Seripuires saith,
"add a whit to his staure in this little model of man's
body; but in the great frame of Kingdoms and Common
wealths, it is in the power of Piness or estains to add amplinade and greatness to their Kingdoms for by introduing such recipances, constitutions and customs as are wise,
they may sow greatness to their posterity and waccessors.
But these toings are commining not observed, but left to
make their chance."

We are an Estate, and are deliberating for the
Commonwealth just as our fathers deliberated in
establishing the institutions we enjoy. Whatever
superiority there is in our condition and hopes over
those of any other "Kingdom" or "Estate" is due
to the fortunate circumstance that our ancestors
did not leave things to take their chance, but that
they added amplitude and greatness to our comthey added amplitude and greatness to our commonwealth, by introducing such ordinances, constitutions and customs as were wise.

We, in our time, have succeeded to the same re We, in our time, have succeeded to the same responsibilities, and we cannot approach the duty
before us, wisely or justly, except we raise our
selves to the great consideration of how we can
most certainly sow greatness to our posterity and
successors. And now the simple, bold, and awfu
question, which presents itself to us, is this: Shalwe who are founding institutions, social and political, for countless millions—shall we who know by
experience the wise and the just, and are free to
choose them and to reject the errogeous and the choose them, and to reject the errocesus and the unjust—shall we establish human bondage, or permit it by our sufferance to be established! Sir, or fathers would not have hesitated an hour. The found Slavery existing here, and they left it or because they could not remove it. There is only no Free State which would now establis but there is no Slave State which, if it had but but there is no Stave State which, if it had but the free alternative, as we now have, would have founded Stavery. Indeed our revolutionary predecessors had precisely the same question before them in establishing an organic law under which the States of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and lows have since come into the Union; and they solemnly repudiated and excluded Stavery from those States forever. I confess that the most slarming evidence of our degeneracy which has yet been given is found in the fact that we even debate such a question.

See there is no Christian nation that free to

Sir, there is no Christian nation that, free t choose as we are, would establish Slavery. I speal on due consideration, because Britain, France and Mexico have abolished Slavery, and all other European States are preparing to abolish it as as rapid by as they can.

We cannot establish Slavery, because there are We cannot establish Slavery, because there are certain elements of the security, welfare and greatness of nations, which we all admit, or ought to admit and require, as essential; and these are—the security of natual rights, the diffusion of knowledge, and the freedom of industry. Slavery is moompatible with all of these; and just in proportion to the extent that it prevails and controls in any Republican State, just to that extent it subjects the original of the second state. any Republican State, just to that extent it subverts the principle of Democracy, and converts the
State into an Aristocracy or Despotism. I will not
offend seasibilities by drawing my proof from
the Stave States existing among ourselves, but I
will draw them from the greatest of the European
Slave States. The population of Russia in Europe,
in 1844, was 54,251,000. Of these were serfe
53,500,000, the residue, nobles, clorgy, merchants,
&c. 751,000. The Imperial Government abandons
the control over the lifty-three and a half millions
to their owners, and the residue, included in the to their owners, and the residue, included in the 751,000, are thus a privileged clan or paristocracy If ever the Government interferes at all with the serf, who are the only laboring population, it is by shiets, designed to abridge the opportunities of education, and thus continue their debasement. What was the origin of this system? Conquest; in which the captivity of the conquered was made perpetual and hereditary.

This, it seems to me, is identical with American

and of occurse the supposed equilibrium of those classes a mere concait. This must be so, because when the Constitution was adopted twe've of the thirteen States were Slave were Slave serves States and so there was no equilibrium. And so as to the classification of States and Southern States and Southern States. It is the maintenance of Slavery by law in a State, not parallels of initiated that makes it a Southern State, and the absence of this that makes it a Southern State, and the states, save one, were Southern States, and there was no equilibrium. But the Constitution was made not only for Southern and Northern States, but for States are supposed equilibrium of those when the voluntary sequiescence of the people. That the voluntary sequiescence of the people That the voluntary sequiescences of the people. That is the constitution was adopted twe've of the voluntary sequiescence of the people. That the voluntary sequiescence of the people. That is offered and or all parties—sounds unions latter and of all parties acquiescence of the voluntary sequiescence of the people. That the voluntary sequiescence of the people. That the voluntary sequiescence of the people. The sufficiency of the voluntary sequiescence of the people. The voluntary of the voluntary sequiescence of the people. The voluntary of the voluntary sequiescence of the people. The voluntary sequiescence of the voluntary sequiescence is acquistion—to acquisio

mise the questions rotating to Sisvery as a con-dition of the admission of California.

In acting upon an occasion so grave as this, a re-

These are my reasons for declining to compromise the questions relating to Slavery as a condition of the admission of California.

In acting upon an occasion so grave as this, a respectful consideration is due to the arguments sended on extraneous considerations, of Senators who counsel a course different from that which I have preferred.

The first of these arguments is that Congress may admit to admit new States; and since Congress may admit, it follows that Congress may reject new States. The discretion of Congress may reject new States. But the greater includes the less; we may impose conditions not monastent with those fondamental powers. Boundaries are such, the reservation of the public domain is such, the right to divide is such, the ordinance excelling Slavery is such a condition. The organization of Territory is naxiliary or preliminary. It is the incheste, initiative act of admission, and is performed under the clause granting the puwer necessary to excent the express powers of the Constitution. This power comes from the treaty making power also, and I tousk it is well traced to the power to make needing rules and regulations concerning the toulist donain. But the power is here to be exercised, inwever derived; and the right to driving its secondary from his well reased to the power to make needing rules and regulations concerning the toulist donain. The power is here to be exercised, in every Territorial charter. If we have power to legislate concerning preposal rights. Freedom is a personal right. The Constitution does not sanction projectly in man, and Congress being the supremo legislature, has the such conditions that the States would right the freedom in the States would have it covariised.

[Mr. Foota here attended and dissolved the construction which had been put upon his remarks, and bright and ature, has the same right in regard to properly ad rights in Territories that the States would ave if organised. It is insisted further that the inhibition is un

And here I have to regret the loss of able and distinguished Senators who go with us for the ad mission of Canfornia. Especially do I regret the separation from us of the able and distinguished Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton). When that Senator amounted that he should not sustain the Proviso of Freedom, I was induced to exclaim

Cor in theatram, Cato severe venicii, An tileo tantum veneras ut exirce.

But that distinguished Senator is crowning a life of eminent public service by bringing the first State of the Pacific into the Union, and grateful to him for that. I freely leave to him to determine for himself what weight he will give to 'the cause of human freedom in his action on so grave an occasion. The argument is that the Provise is unnecessary I answer, then there can be no error in missing upon it. But why is it unnecessary I it is said, first by reason of the chimate. If this be so, why do not the Representatives of the Slave States yield the Provise. They deay that climate prevents the introduction of Slavery. Now, I will leave nothing to contingency. But in truth, I think the argument is against the proposition. Is there any climate where Slavery lins not existed? It has prevailed all over Europe, from sumy Italy to leak England, and is existing now, stronger than it say other land, in ice-bound Russia. But that distinguished Senator is crowning a life

bleak England, and is existing now, stronger than in any other land, in ice-bound Rossia.

But it will be replied that this is not African blavery. I rejoin, that only makes the case the stronger. It this vigorous Saxon race of ours was reduced to Slavery while it retained the courage of semi-barbarism, in its own high Northern land tude, what security does climate allord against the transplantation of the more gentle, more doctle, and sir any ensiaved and debased African, to the general colors of New Mexico and Catherna P. Sir there

But sir, it is said that Slavery is prevented by the laws of God from entering into the Territory from which we propose to inhibit it. I will less no that matter a little more closely. I wish then, with the utmost respect to ask Semators whether the Ordinance of 1787 was necessary or not? That Ordinance has been the subject of too many enorming to be sow pronounced a vague and disting. That ordinance carried the prohibition of Slavery quite up to the 49th deg of North lat, and yet we are own told that we can trust the laws of food without any ordinance to exclude Slavery as far down as 30° 30°. Unfortunately too, the ordinance of 1787 began on the 37th parallel of North latitude, so that there is no partot the Territory which it covered, in which Slavery, according tory which it covered, in which Slavery, according to the present theory was set excluded by the law of God. I know no better authority as to the laws of God on this subject than one from whom I have already had occasion to quote with some reedom. And it is the opinion of Montesquieu that it is only the indolence of mankind and not the climate which causes the introduction of Slavery asywhere. There is no climate where Slavery is

saywhere. There is no chimate where steep sheecessary; there is none where it cannot be established, if the customs and laws permit.

I shall dwell only very briefly on the argument lerived from the Mexican laws. The proposition that those laws must remain in force until altered by laws of our own is satisfactory; and so is the origination that those Mexican laws abolished and strength to probable. Shayers, and still I deen as by laws of our own is adistactory, and so is the proposition that these Mexican haw a shoished and continue to prohibit Slavery; and still I deem an exactment by ourselves wise and own necessary. Both of the propositions I have stated are desied with just as much confidence by Southern Statesamen and drists as they are allirmed by those of the Free States. The population of the new territories is rapidly becoming an American one to whom the Mexican code will seem a foreign one entitled to little deference or obedience. Slavery has never obtained anywhere by express legislative authority, but always by trampling down laws higher than any mere municipal laws—the law of nature and of nations. There can be no oppression in superadding the sanction of Congress to the authority which is so weak and so vebennently questioned. And there is some possibility, it not a probability, that the institution might obtain a foot only surreptitiously, if it should not be absolutely forbidden by our own authority.

what is insisted upon, therefore, is not a more distraction or a more sestiment as is contended by y these who concur with us as to admitting California, but would waive the Provise. And what is conclusive on the subject is that it is conceeded unliands that the effect of insisting on it prevents the extension of Slavery into the region to which it is proposed to apply it. Again, it is insisted that the lithusion of Slavery does not increase its evils. The rgument seems to me merely specious and quite

And this brings me to the great and all-absorb-ing argument that the Union is in danger of being lissolved, and that it can only be saved by Com-

I do not overlook the fact that the entire dele-This, it seems to me, is identical with American Slavery, only at one and the same time exagerated by the greater disproportion between the privileged classes and the Slaves in their respective numbers, and yet relieved of the unhappiest feature of American Slavery—the distinction of castes. What but this renders Russia at once the most arbitrary Despetism, and the most barbarous State in Europe? And what is its effect but industry comparatively profitless, and solition not occasional and partial, but chronic and pervading the empire. With Massachusetts and Ohio among us, shall we pass by their free and beneficeut examples, and select our inatitutions from the dominions of the Caar?

I cannot stop to debate long with those who maintain that Slavery is in itself pratcically economic that the state of the content with saying the content with saying the spectified of the content with saying the content with the content with saying the content with the content with saying the content with the content and the case of compromise proposed, and the case is to details of compromise proposed, and the case is to details of compromise proposed, and the case is the exact circumstances of the cast is the exact circumstances of the cast is the exact circumstances of the ca of the Czar?

I cannot stop to debate long with those who maintain that Slavery is in itself pratcically economical and humans. I might be content with saying that there are some axioms in political science that a statemen or a founder of States may adopt, escate a statemen or a founder of States may adopt, escate a statemen or a founder of States may adopt, escate a statemen or a founder of States may adopt, escate a statemen or a founder of States may adopt, escate the statement of the uncontained one. It is a law of our auture, that the passions of the United States, and this will be the disastrous afflictions? And this will be the answer. When the Spaniards, few in number, The failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the state of the secate mitted this entance as the secate may added this entance as they are of the machinery of our system is increased. The machinery of our system is increased with the maximum and it is, an equilibrium of power in the Repair of the secate mitted this entance as they are to be received with even be a lever may be displayed there—but the maximation of African Slavery.

And then, if not before the question will soon recover its regularity and move on just as before, with even better adaptation and affinite curve the institution of Slavery in a before, with even better adaptation and affinite curve the institution of

fined as it now is threatens the invasion of the Constitution, how can we enlarge its boundaries and increase its influence without increasing the danger already existing?

Whether, then, I regard merely the welfare of the future inhabitants of the new territories, or the security and welfare of the whole people of the United States or the welfare of the whole farmary of mankind, I cannot consent to introduce Slavery into any part of this continent which is now exempt from what seems to me to be so great an evil.

These are my reasons for deciming to compton are not at all, I think, in danger of being inflamed.

impression which from Pennary which have reached to hid and ande. Now the Hon Senator will do me the justice to allow that I am at liberty to subtract one predictions lose so mach of importance.

I see no emons of Revolution. What are the emons to which our attention is directed? I see nothing but a broad difference of opinion here, and the excitement consequent upon it.

I have observed that Revolutions which begin in the Pulace, subtom so beyond the Palace Walls, and these affect only the dynasty which reigns there. This Revolution, if I understand it, began here to the Senate a vein and, when the dispresentatives from Southern States assembled here and addressed their constituents on what was called the aggressions of the Northern States. No revolution was designed at that time, and all that has happened since, at the return to Congress of Levislature Resolutions which seem to me to be conventional

trace. The constituent members of this Democracy are the only persons who could suivert it and they are not the extrems of a metropolis like France, or of a region as bjected to the influences of a metropolis, like France, but they are massammen dispersed over this broad land, on the mountain, and on the plain, and on the prairie, from the Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. And this people are now, while we are discussing their imaginary dameer, at peace and in their happy hours, and as unconcerned and even as uninformed of their peril as they are of events occurring in the moor. Nor layer the alarmists made due allowance in their circulations for the influence of conservative relaction—strong in any Government, and irresistible in a rural Repulsic operating by universal suffrage. That principle the influence of conservative reaction—strong in any Government, and irrestrible in a raral Republic operating by universal suffrage. That principle of reaction is due to the force of the habits of acquiescence and loyalty among the people. No manbetter understood this principle than MacRitavett.1 who has told us in regard to factious that "so sufficient and the bravery of wurds except it be corroborated by custom." Do the Alarmans remember that this Government has stood sixty years already without exacting one drop of blood—that this Government is stood sixty years and Treason is an obsolete crime? That day I trust is far off when the foundains of pepular contentment shall be broken upbut whenever it shall come it will bring forth a ligher illustration than has every yet been given of the excellence of the Democratic system. For then it will be seen how calculy, how firmly, how only a great People can act in preserving their constitution when "Love of Courtry neverth Example teacheth, Company conference, Emillation quickeneth, and Glory exsiteth."

When the founders of the New Republic of the South courte to draw over the fave of this Empire the street of the New Republic of the South courte to draw over the fave of this Empire there are the week it as a super-

slong or between its parallels of latitude or longitude their eminous lines of dismemberment, seen to be broadly and deeply shaded with fraternal blood, they may come to the discovery then, if not before, that the narional and even the political connections of the regionembraced forbids such a partition; that its passable divisions are pet Northern and Southern at all, but Eastern and Western, Atlantic and Pacific, and that Nature and Commerce tave allied indissolvely for weal and woo the seconcer and those from whom they are to be separated, that while they would rush little a cruit war to reshore an imaginary confibrium between the Northern States and on the Southern States, that a new equilibrium had taken us place, in which all those States are on the one side and the boundless West was on the other.

Sir, when the bounders of the new Republic of

Sir, when the founders of the new Republic of the South come to trace those journal lines, they will indicate what portions of the continent are to be broken of from their connection with the Atlan-tic through the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Del-tware, the Potimise and the Mississippi—what portion of this people are to be decided the use of the lakes, the railcoads and the canals, now consticontext, the rainceass and the canas, how consti-ling common and customers avenues of travel, ade and social intercours—what families and indred are to be separated, and converted into comics, and what States are to be the receive of expectual border warrare, aggravated by intermin-ble borrors of interminable insurrection. When one portentous lines shall be drawn they will dischee what portion of this been been trey will dis-chee what portion of this been been retain the Army and the Navy, and the flag of so many vic-tories. And, on the other hand, what perion of this people is to be subjected to new and relinens imposts, direct taxes, and forced home and con-servations to maintain an expension are to the subton. Then the projectors of the new Hepshile of the South will meet the question—and they may well prepare newto answer it—What is all this for—what intolerable wrong!—what our attend in justice have residered these calemittes unavoidable?

of the People of the United States. But even if the States, they surrendered their state continued as States, they surrendered their sequelty as States, and submitted themselves bothe sway of the numerical majority, with qualifications of checks; first, of the representation of States, and submitted themselves bothe sway of the numerical majority, with qualifications of shapes in the ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, of the equal representation and taxation; and, secondly, of the equal representation of states as share States and Free States as asserted by some, and into Northern and Southern as their apprehension, a fearful omen, and an extra constitution of states as flates and Free States and admitted themselves to the sway of the numerical majority, with qualifications of shapes in the ratio of representation of States, they surrendered their constitutions as excited a natural condense of happiness.

That knowledge promotes virtue, and righteons states and submitted themselves to the satisfication of slavers, and submitted themselves to the security, with qualifications of slavers in the ratio of representation of States as the ratio of representation of States and Free States and Free States and Free States as asserted by some, and into Northern and Southern at the consent of States as Slave States and Free State

it, and He only can indicate the way to remove it, as if the Supreme Creator, after giving us the instructions of his Providence and Revesition for the Elumination of our minds and consciences, did not serve us in all human transactions with due invocations of his Holy Spirit to seek out his will, and ensemble it for ourselves.

Here then is the point of my separation from both of these parties. I feel assured that Slavery will give way, and must give way to the salutary instructions of economy, and to the ripening milioness of humanity—that emancipation is nevirable, and is near,—that it may be histened or his devot and that whether it be peaceful or violent depoids upon the Government, whether it be hastened or his devot, and that whether it be consummation of violence—all that check its extension and abote in strength, tend to its peaceful extirpation. But I will adopt now more but lawful, Constitutional and peaceful means to secure even that end; and note such emilion will I forego:

Nor do I know any important or responsible body that proposes to do more than this. No free State-Name claims that Congress shall usure power to shellsh Slavery in the Slave States. None claims that Congress shall usure power to shellsh Slavery in the Slave States. None claims that Congress shall usure power to shellsh Slavery in the Slave States. None claims that say violeit, unconstitutional or uniawful measures shall be resorted to. And on the other land, if we offer no scheme or plun for the adoption of the Slave States, with the assent and cooperation of Congress, it is only because the Slave States are inwiding as yet to receive such singestions, or even to entertain the question of emacripation in

tu, Sir, I will take this occasion to say, that

itself
I have thus endeavored to show that there is no I have thus endeavored to show that there is not now, and is not likely to occur, any selequate cause for revolution in regard to Slavery. But you reply that nevertheless, you must have guarantees—And the first one is for the surrender of fugitives from labor. That quarantee you cannot have, as lave already shown, because you cannot roll back the tide of social progress. You must be contest with what you have. If you wage war against a you can at most only conquer us, and then all you can get will be a treaty, and that you have already. But you insist on a guarantee against the

Will war-a war for Slavery crush or even mod rate that discussion? No Sir, that discussion will

bet cease. War would only inflame it to a greater highth. It is a part of the eternal conflict between truth and error, between amind and physical force, the conflict of man aganist the obstacles, which oppose his way to an ultimate, and glorious destiny. It will go on until you chall terminate it in the only way in which any State or nation has terminated it, by which any fare or nation has terminated it, by yielding to it—yielding in your own time and in your own manner, indeed, but nevertheless yielding to the progress of emancipation.

You will do this sooner or later, whatever may be your opinions now; because nations which were prodent and homane, and wise as you are, have time as a result.

one so already.

Six, the Slave Sixtes have no reason to fear that this inevitable change will go too far or too fast for their safety or wellare. It cannot well go too fast or too far, if the only alternative of it is a war of

But it cannot go too fast. Slavery has a reli-But it cannot go too fast. Slavery has a reliable and accommodating ally in a party in the Free States which, though it claims to be and doubtless is, in many respects, a party of progress finds its sole security for its political power in the support and aid of Slavery in the Slave States. Of course I do not include in that party those who are now emperating in maintaining the cause of Freedom against Slavery. I am not of this party of progress in the North which lends its support to Slavery But it is only just and candid that I should be a witness to their fidelity to the interests of Slavery, Slavery has, increaver, a more natual affiance with the Aristocracy of the North and with the Aristocracy of Europe.

the Aristocracy of the North and with the Aristocracy of Europe.

So long as Shavery shall possess the cotton fields, the sugar fields, and the rice fields of the world, so soon will Commerce and Capital yield its toleration and sympathy. Emancipation is a Democratic Revolutions. It was Capital that in a single year rolled back the ide of revolution on the base of the Grandhan mountains, across the Dambie and the Rhine, into the streets of Paris. It is Capital that is rapidly rolling back the theme of Napoleon into the thambers of the Tuilieries.

Slavery has a guarantee still stronger than these in the prejudices of caste and rollor, which induce we have majorities in all the Free States to regard as impathy with the slave as an set of unmanly hugilisation and self abasement.

Although philosophy mee'ally expresses her dis-

miliation and self abasement.

Although philosophy meekly expresses her distrast of the asserted natural superiority of the white race, and confidently denics shat such a superiority, if justly claimed, could give a title to oppression, there remains one more guarantee—one that has seldom failed you, and will seldom fail you heresiter. New States cling in clear reasures than the older ones to the federal power. The concentration of the Slave power enables you not long periods to control the Federal Government, with the aid of the New States. I do not know the sentiments of the Representatives of California: but my word for it, if they should be admitted on this floor to-day against your most obstinate opposition, they would on all questions really affecting your interests, be found at your side. With these allies and alis to break the force of Emarcipation, there will be no disunion and no side. With these allies and anis to break the force of Emarcipation, there will be no distanton and no secession. I do not say that there may not be disturbance, through I do not apprehend even that. Absolute regularity and order in administration have not yet been established in any Government, and anbruken popular tranquility has not yet been attained in even the most advanced condition of human society. The muchinery of our sistem is necessarily complex. A proof may fall out here—a lever may be displaced there—but the machinery will as on recover its recalierity and move on just

Governments, and added to them is the solidity and firemess derived from broader and deeper usual and series of from broader and deeper usual and in natural justice, and from a better eivit adaptation to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind.

The Union, the creation of necessities physical, meral, social and political, endures by virtue of the same necessities, and these necessities are stronger than when it was produced, and by the greater amplitude of territory now covered by it—stronger by the six fold increase of the society living under its beneficent protection—stronger by the anaman intent the thousand times of the fields, the work slope, the mines and the ships of that society of its productions of the sea, of the plaw, of the soon, and of the anvil, in their constant circle of internal and international exchanges—stronger in the long rivers penetrating regions before unknown—stronger in all the artificial roads, canals and other channels and avenues essential for only or rath but to delense—stronger in steam navily extion, in steam locomotion on the land, and in telegraph communications unknown when the

esthics with State emaintion and pride of achievement could be allowed to raise up another sovereign to divide the allegiance of a citizen of the laited States. I might recognize the claims of the State to which by birth and gratitude I belong—to the State of Hamilton and Jay, of Schayler, of the Cintons and of Fulton—the State which, with less than 200 unless or natural navigation consected with the ocean, has, by her own enterprise, secured to herself the commerce of the Continent and is steadily advancing to the command of the ommerce of the world. But for all this, I know only one Country and one Sovereign—the United States of America and the American People.

And such as my allegiance is, is the loyalty of very other citizen of the United States.

As I speak he will speak when his time arrives he knows no other country and no other sovereign he has life, liberty, property, and precious affections, and hopes for himself and for his posterity, treasured up in the ark of the Union. he knows as well and feels as strongly as I do, that this Government is his own Government, that he is a part if it, that it was established for him, and that it is maintained by him; that it is the only truly, wise,

an any which time or change could bring into its

as it can find no fulcrum now, and in this is any confidence. I would not rashly provoke the trial, but I will not suffer a lear which I have not to make me Compromise one sen-I have not to make me Compromise one seniment one principle of truth or justice, to avert a danger that all experience teaches me is purely himorical. Let those then who distrust the Union make Compromises to save it. I shall not impeanly their wisdom, as I certainly cannot their particular, but including no such approbasions myself, I shall note for the almission of California, directly, without conditions, without quedification, and without Compromise. For the vindication of that vote I look not to the verdict of the passion bour, disturbed as the public mind now is by condicting interests and passions, but to that period, happily not far distant, when the wast regions over which which we are now legislating, shall have received their destined inhabitants.

habitacts.
While looking forward to that day, its countless while looking forward to that day its confidence erations seem to me to be rising up and pass or dim and shadowy review before us. And voice comes forth from their reviewed ranks, in. "Waste your treasures, and your armies, ou will, case your fortifications to the pround, your navies into the sea, transmit to us even shonored name, if you must, but the soil that hold in trust for us, give it to us free; you no if free and conquered it to extend a better on hold in true and conquered it to extend a better oil surer freedom over it. Whatever choice you are made for yourselves, let us have no partial readom, let us all be free, let the reversion of our coad domain descend to us unincumbered and re from the calamities and the sorrows of human coales.

reis have been received from Cuba, more this season than in the three years previous, and they are scraping up all the

in the liree years previous, and they are acrassing up all the pickings in the West India Islands for this market.

Since the receipt of the America's news, Cotton has decidined edge. The stock on hand here is large, say 200,000 bales, Quango not so large by 30,000 bales, as at this time has your, good indealing 11/10 11/2 air 12012; There is not much more to market only from north Alabams, and the crup of the United States will not exceed 2,200,000 bales, so cotton come are yest as good as California gold or East India dia norde, but the weed boacco, "where "how it is going up—common leaf here is no five adminst Table.

The river continues high, several crovesses from Baton Longe to Randourci and some estates that were under water and year are in the same reedictional at this time. The jownands on the Mississippi from Vicksburg to Memphis are also overflowed. Bed River, above Santinitiones in the same condition. No prospect of these lands being cultivated this year as plowing time is a readily passing away, and it will not at this time, be looking too for absend to inquire where is the cotton coming from nor the years 1805-51.

Those that have alimpted cotton goods to California would to eafe in ordering them back. Truly yours, P. B. P.

THE BRIDGE TO COVINCTON .- There was quite

FROM WASHINGTON. Calboun and South-Carolina-Webster and

FROM WASHINGTON.

Contentional assemblage to counter dues problems. Even by connect and art is counted to be implicitly by connect and art is counted to be implicitly by connect and art is counted to be implicitly by connect and art is counted to be implicitly by connect and art is counted to be implicitly by connect and art is counted to be implicitly by connect and art is counted to control. A Thom was proposed to the Colonia, by Paramas and official to the control, the United was not been provided in the Colonia by Paramas and otherwise in 17th, but need was the paramas and the control of the Colonia by Paramas and the control of the Colonia by Paramas and t

be, adding \$60,000,000 of the National treasure, in order, as Mr. Callious has frankly admitted, to strengthen the most abominable municipal institutation of modern times.

—But although I had not a hope of hearing any mobile or manly sentiments from Mr. Callious on the subject of Slavery, yet it was not so a Daskit Warstan. The moment I got hold of Friday's Intelligence, I read his remarks from becausing to cut. Mr. Warstan is a Whig—a Massachusetts Whig—his State is Whig, his people are intelligent, nonest, honorable, industrious, persivering, wealthy, enterprising—the Grails of Libertf is in their midst—Bunker Hill and Lexington bring 200 runs recollections of byzone valor in a good cause—there is no junta of Slave holding Planters, controlling the State, and degrading the histore—the Press is free, the Post Office is sacred to all who are it. The men of Massachusetts feel that they have a country worth preacrying and worth contending for. "Equal rights to unequal possessoms—equal justice to the rich and poor." Massachusetts bus no legal murders to revenue—no legal robbery to recess?" us ram there need four the jail or the whip, as the recompense of having taught his fellow to read the bible. South Carolina tottered at the insurrection of a few of her slaves; terrir and a semantified to protection of the British slop of war was lying off the peri sast three other British war vassels were at Trinidad, to enforce the payment of debts due to British sludy that the nose by a ball, received it conferes the payment of debts due to British subject by Venezuela. Admiral Cockburn threatened to bombard the town if the demand was not complied with the Captain of the Thomas Lindsay. A Berish sloop of war was lying off the peri sast three other British war vassels were at Trinidad, to enforce the payment of debts due to British subject by Venezuela. Admiral Cockburn threatened to bombard the town if the demand was not complied with the Captain of the Captain of the Savy. The Board consists of Surgeon Thomas Dillard, Pres seek a bulwark as Massachusetts presents to her less. No wonder it was, then, that I expected, as you did, that Mr. Websters speech would indicate that old Massachusetts has a true heart, a sound heart, a brave heart, a sympathizing heart, for rational liberty everywhere, and that she had sent to the Senate Freedom's ablest and choicest champion to speak for her there.

You say in The Tribune:

Now, if anyoody magine that Daniel Websters can be fathered up or capield into proposing to run the line or before the Partie, or even to makelwo new Siver States at of Texas, or anything size of like nature, ho win flash himself egregiously missiken.

I rather think that you will, on a careful peruaniof his speech, arrive at the conclusion that there is an egregious mistake somewhere.

Those who supply Virginia with Governors from time to time, chanced, in 1846, to hit upon one Mr. SMITH, who knew that he would please the Slavo hollers annexingly by proposing to banish the free colored people, so he actually urged upon the State Logislature the passage of a law for driving out of the passage of a law for driving out o

ogislature the passage of a law for driving out of heir birth-places, and from their hearths and loones, 50,000 unoffending individuals, who posthe Fushion left the Manitea river at 5, F. M. on the 2st on was, that they endangred the Virginia Slave rade and Slavery, because they were free. "No othere in the farming of the United States," said Mr. Clay, in 1829, "could slave laber be generally employed, if the proprietors were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern market." Slaveholders regard men, women and children, like their horses, cattle and swine, as valuable only in proportion to the dollars they will be found in the annexed extract from a private latter. ct. Staveholders regard men, women and children, like their horses, cattle and swine, as valuable only in proportion to the dollars they will etch. The rask colored people they could not ell—but as a certain statesman once asked on a nemorable occasion, one of the Baltimore papers sked, "Where shall they go, if you drive them

A voice from Massachusetts, in the United States enate, answers: "To any colony or any place in he world; and I am ready to lay a tax upon the scople of the United States, to the Carlossary, to allihous, or to borrow the money, if necessary, to trengthen and perpetuate Slavery in Virginia and the whole South." That I may not misrepresent Mr. WESSTER, I give his proposition in his own ople of the United States, to the extent of many

anguage:
"If any gentleman from the South shall propose a schem
for any gentleman from the South shall propose a schem
for any learning and any learning and learning any learning and lear Things in New-Orleans.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

Another arrival of Coffee from Ro, direct, here his week and three more expected; the sales of the week and three more expected; the sales of the week are also are at a decline of its from the wall for the West being scarce; these are at a decline of its from former this scarce; these are at a decline of its from former this scarce; these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce; these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce these are at a decline of its from former than scarce than the former th

Mr. Weister whole speech is the most servile specimen of truckling to the slave power I thick I ever read, considering his position. Even Manuel is a secure Virginia and South Carolina, was modest in his offers compared with Weister.

In my next I will go into particulars, and I trust you will permit me to speak to your readers. If the friends of freedom do not keep a diligent watch, the seven millions of freemen of New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania will speedily find themselves outvoted in the U. S. Senate by patch-work Slaver States made up from Texas.

Some will say it is impossible; but if they saw this Congress as I see them; if they knew the extent of the means of a Government like that of the United States to make converts (beside what the Chapinina do.) and if they would remember John Quinch Analys words: "The preservation, propagation and perpetuation of Slavery has been the vital and animating spirit of the National Government," they would try to stop the evil before it becomes incurable.

ROGER SHERMAN. becomes incurable. ROGER SHERMAN.

Hary Jumieson-Territory of the Rio Grande-Printing-Patent Office Report-Seward's Speech. Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, March 11. A few years since a friend presented me with a

popular novels in its marvellous incidents-I mean the late Mary Jamieson, a white woman of Irish prospects of the Spring business in produce.

Origin, born on the ocean, who lost her parents and A bill has been reported by the Committee on origin, born on the ocean, who lost her parents and human society. The machinery of our system is increasarily complex. A pivot may fall out here—a series displaced there—but the machinery and move on just as before, with even better adaptation and adjust meet to overcome new obstructions.

The failure of a legislative body to organize is to the received in some series of most required to two Indian husbands, the Indians, was married to two Indian husbands, the Indians, was married to two Indian husbands the Indians, was married to two Indian husbands are substituted among the ablagines more than sixty years, as before, with even better adaptation and adjust meet to overcome new obstructions.

The failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the failure of a legislative body to organize is to the found of the legislative of the legisla CLARK a COLEMAN, is South-st. This morning in Senate Mary's heirs applied by log system.

petition, through Mr. Dickinson, for a share of lodien lands which they believe to belong to them, and the Committee on Indian affairs are to look into their claims.

emigrating West. The Chief of this party is called Capie chu-che, sub-Chief, Cacha-fixico-chap.co. The Fushion left the Manitea river at 5, P. M. on

be found in the annexed extract from a present letter:

By letter from Pilaixa, East Florida, I heard of the loss of the U.S. surveying steamer Hetrel, i.i. Com'g Rogers, serveying cape Carnavenal. She parted her chains in a gale and went on shore, and it is supposed will be lost. Copy of log-book of U.S. transportation steamer Mommouth, Capt. John Otsway: Feb. 14.5 P.M. let go my sichor half a mile from the Hetzel: Li: Rogers, her commander, came off is whate-boat. He required me to lay all slight, to give lima jud in the morning at high water, which I agreed to. The sext morning I weighed one of her anchors, and laid it set egan, and gave them a hawer. He then dispensed with my polling at the boat, as she was badly used. She her parallel with the heach, canted off shore, and the sea treasing ander her gourds has lifted her deck. It is said the life obts and flows in her, and she probably will be lost.

[N. O. Commercial Bulletin.

COMMERCIAL AND MONEY MATTERS.

We find in an exchange paper the following section of an Act to provide for the Liquidation of the Public Debt of the late Republic of Texas:

"All tabilities of the late Republic of Texas, whether the same have or have not been presented to the Auditor sed Controller, under the provisions of the "Act to provide for Ascersaining the Debt of the late Republic of Texas," approved Marci 20, 134, shall coase to draw interest from and after the first day of July, 1850." It seems impossible that Texas should thus coolly repu-liate the interest on her Public Debt. She is as much bound

bonor to pay the interest as the principal of her debt, and runnon honesty forbids that she should thus fob off her ong-auffering creditors. From an official report, the Funded Debt of Ma

rland may be classified as follows:

of Baltimore has lovested in the Baltimore and Ohio Rail road the sum of \$3,500,600, on which there is an annual in

The Norfolk Argus announces the arrival at that port of the ship Samuel, with a cargo of 756 mms iron raffs. For the new track of the Seshoard and Rosnoke Railroad— A large amount of Iron, in addition to this, is now on the

The great Railroad Convention in Steubenville. small volume, containing a memoir of a very re-markable female, whose history far exceeds many and Steubenville and Pittaburgh Railroad.

The Western papers speak discouragingly of the